

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 PM-03 INR-05 NSC-05

CIAE-00 L-01 /047 W

-----029318 231550Z /41

R 231400Z JUN 78

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2985

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION USNATO

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0363

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E O 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJ: MBFR: US/SOVIET BILATERAL CONVERSATION OF JUNE 22, 1978

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT US INVITATION, US REP HAD FAREWELL DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET REP TARASOV ON JUNE 22. SOVIET DEP REP SHUSTOV AND US DEP REP WERE PRESENT. DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON THE DATA ISSUE. SOVIET REPS GAVE NO INDICATION OF SHIFTING FROM THE EASTERN CLAIM THAT THE DATA TABLED BY THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS ON THEIR FORCES IS CORRECT. THEY PRESSED FOR EXCHANGE OF AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL FIGURES, CORRECTION OF WEST'S ALLOCATION BETWEEN WARSAW PACT GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER AND FOR TABLING OF WESTERN FIGURES ON GROUND FORCE

MANPOWER OF INDIVIDUAL WARSAW PACT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. END SUMMARY

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2. US REP OPENED DISCUSSION. HE SAID HIS PERSONAL VIEW WAS THAT THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSALS CONTAINED SIGNIFICANT MOVES IN RELATION TO ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE WEST. THIS WAS WELCOME. HOWEVER, MAJOR DIFFERENCES REMAINED. THE MAJOR OUTSTANDING ISSUE WAS THE QUESTION OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AS TO THE AMOUNT FOR EASTERN MILITARY MANPOWER.

IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET REP ON APRIL 17, US REP HAD TOLD SOVIET REP THAT THE WESTERN ANALYSIS OF THE DISAGGREGATED DATA WHICH HAD BEEN EXCHANGED IN MARCH LED WESTERN REPS TO BELIEVE THAT THE EAST HAD NOT INCLUDED IN ITS FIGURES ALL THE PERSONNEL WHOM THE WEST CONSIDERED ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL AND THAT THIS WAS PARTICULARLY TRUE FOR POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION. US REP HAD SUGGESTED AT THAT TIME THAT IT WOULD BE VERY IMPORTANT IN RESPONSE TO THE WEST'S PROPOSALS OF APRIL 18 THAT THE EAST MAKE SOME MOVE ON THIS TOPIC TO MAKE POSSIBLE PROGRESS TOWARDS AN AGREEMENT ON DATA. US REP ASSUMED THAT THE EAST HAD GIVEN SERIOUS THOUGHT TO THIS POINT IN THE INTERIM AND HOPED THAT SOVIETS HAD SUCH A MOVE IN MIND.

3. TARASOV SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT CATEGORIES OF PERSONNEL THE US REP WANTED THE SOVIETS TO IDENTIFY. EAST AND WEST HAD AGREED TO COUNT ALL ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA. THEY HAD ALSO AGREED ON WHO SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM THE COUNT. EASTERN DATA CONFORMED TO THIS DEFINITION. THE SOVIETS WISHED TO HELP TO RESOLVE THE DISCREPANCY PROBLEM, BUT THEY COULD NOT MANUFACTURE SOLDIERS WHO WERE NOT THERE, NOR COULD THEY CONCEAL 150,000 SOLDIERS.

4. US REP SAID HE STILL BELIEVED THERE WAS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE WAY THE EAST HAD APPLIED THE ACTIVE DUTY DEFINITION AND THE WAY IN WHICH THE WEST HAD APPLIED IT AND THAT EASTERN PARTICIPANTS MUST BE AWARE OF THIS DIFFERENCE AND WHAT
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CATEGORIES OR GROUPS OF PERSONNEL THEY HAD EXCLUDED. THE EAST'S NEW PROPOSALS HAD PUT INCREASED FOCUS ON THE SUBJECT OF DATA. UNLESS THE EAST COULD GIVE THE WEST INDICATION OF WHERE THE PROBLEM LAY, QUESTIONS MIGHT ARISE IN THE WEST AS TO WHETHER THE EAST WAS CONCEALING SOME OF THE MANPOWER. BUT IT WAS POSSIBLE TO HAVE AN OPEN AND FRANK DISCUSSION OF WHETHER CERTAIN CATEGORIES SHOULD AND SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED. SUCH A SITUATION WOULD NOT AFFECT THE BASIS FOR MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND WAS NECESSARY TO REACH AN AGREEMENT. EVEN IF ONE COULD NOT AGREE ON WHAT COULD BE REDUCED, IF ALL THE FACTS WERE ON THE TABLE, THE BASIS OF TRUST WOULD NOT BE IMPAIRED. HOWEVER, THE SITUATION WOULD BE OTHERWISE IF IT WAS CONCLUDED IN THE WEST THAT WARSAW PACT PERSONNEL WERE BEING ARBITRARILY EXCLUDED.

5. TARASOV SAID THE EAST TOO HAD MADE ITS NEW PROPOSALS DEPENDENT ON AGREEMENT ON DATA. THIS INCREASED THE NEED TO AGREE ON DATA. THE EAST HAD MADE PROPOSALS AS TO WHAT COULD BE DONE AS A NEXT STEP IN THIS REGARD, BUT THE WEST HAD NOT ACCEPTED. THE EAST HAD PROPOSED EXCHANGE OF PERCENTAGES OF MANNING LEVEL FOR EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT. THE WEST MADE A POINT THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS OF SAYING THAT ALL WESTERN FIGURES WERE OPEN AND PUBLIC, BUT IT HAD NOT AGREED TO THIS

PROPOSAL. SOVIET REPS CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT EXCHANGE OF DATA OF THIS KIND MIGHT HELP IN IDENTIFYING THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY. THEREFORE, IT SHOULD BE TRIED.

6. US REP EXPLAINED REASONS FOR WESTERN SKEPTICISM AS TO THE VALUE OF THE AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL FIGURE. HE SAID IF SOVIETS WERE WILLING TO GIVE AN AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL FOR A SPECIFIC SOVIET ARMY, THIS MIGHT HAVE SOME VALUE. TARASOV DID NOT REACT.

7. TARASOV SUGGESTED THAT WEST SHOULD TABLE ITS ESTIMATES OF GROUND FORCE STRENGTH OF INDIVIDUAL WARSAW PACT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. US REP ASKED WHAT THE BENEFIT OF SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD BE. TARASOV SAID IT WOULD ENABLE PARTICIPANTS TO HAVE A SECRET

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BETTER IDEA OF THE LOCATION OF THE DISPARITY. US REP SAID HE HAD ALREADY TOLD SOVIETS THAT MAIN DISPARITY WAS IN SOVIET AND POLISH FORCES. TARASOV SAID THAT, ON THE BASIS OF WEST'S PRESENTATION OF THIS DATA IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO GO BACK TO QUESTION OF DEFINITIONS AND WHO HAD BEEN INCLUDED AND WHO NOT INCLUDED. US REP POINTED OUT TARASOV HAD JUST SAID HE FELT THERE WAS FULL AGREEMENT ON THIS POINT OF DEFINITIONS AND THAT

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-----029430 231552Z /40

R 231400Z JUN 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2986
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
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THERE WAS NO NEED TO GO INTO THE SUBJECT FURTHER. WHY SHOULD
TABLING OF WESTERN FIGURES ON WARSAW TREATY FORCES PROVIDE A
BETTER BASIS? TARASOV DID NOT RESPOND. LATER, HE SAID IF
WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WANTED TO DISCUSS INCLUSIONS AND EXCLUSIONS
AGAIN, THE EAST WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO SO.

8. TARASOV SAID THE WEST HAD ALSO REFUSED THUS FAR TO
CORRECT ITS ALLOCATION OF WARSAW TREATY MILITARY PERSONNEL
BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR FORCES ALTHOUGH IT HAD ADMITTED THAT
IT HAD COUNTED NATO PERSONNEL ENGAGED IN GROUND BASED NATIONAL
AIR DEFENSE IN THE AIR FORCE WHILE COUNTING WARSAW PACT PERSONNEL
CARRYING OUT THE SAME FUNCTION IN THE GROUND FORCES. THIS WAS
CLEARLY UNFAIR.

9. US REP SAID UP TO NOW TARASOV HAD SUGGESTED THINGS
THE WEST COULD DO IN THE DATA FIELD. WHAT WAS THE EAST
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PREPARED TO DO?

10. TARASOV STATED THAT AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED, WESTERN
FIGURES HAD BEEN DEVELOPED IN ORDER TO SUBSTANTIATE THE
WESTERN CASE FOR ASYMMETRICAL EASTERN MANPOWER REDUCTIONS AND HAD
NO BASIS IN FACT. THE WEST HAD PROPOSED EXCHANGE OF FIGURES ON
STRENGTHS OF INDIVIDUAL CORPS AND DIVISIONS. THIS KIND OF EXCHANGE
COULD GO ON TO THE SMALLEST UNIT. THE SOVIETS COULD BRING THE
ROSTERS OF EACH UNIT INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THE EXCHANGE
OF ALL OF THIS INFORMATION WOULD NOT RESULT IN ANY CHANGE IN
THE WESTERN FIGURES WHICH HAD AFTER ALL BEEN COMPILED TO JUSTIFY
ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS. THE WEST'S ENDLESS QUESTIONS AS TO THE
ALLOCATION OF PERSONNEL BETWEEN THE CATEGORY OF MAJOR FORMATIONS
AND OTHERS WERE NOT IN ANY SENSE DESIGNED TO CLARIFY THE REASONS
FOR THE DISCREPANCY, BUT TO DELAY THE NEGOTIATIONS AND PICK UP
INFORMATION ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL DETAILS OF SOVIET FORCES.
THIS COULD GO ON FOR FIVE YEARS. THE EAST HAD ALREADY GIVEN ENOUGH
WITH ITS JUNE 8 PROPOSAL. IT WAS NOT GOING TO GIVE
ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS.

11. US REP EXPLAINED THAT THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR
EXCHANGE OF DATA ON THE STRENGTH OF MAJOR UNITS HAD BEEN
DESIGNED TO LOCATE THE SOURCE OF THE DISCREPANCY WITHIN THE
FORCES OF INDIVIDUAL EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WITH A VIEW TO
SUBSEQUENTLY FOCUSING INQUIRY ON THE AREA OF LARGEST DISCRE-

PANCY. IT HAD BEEN THE EAST WHICH HAD SELECTED THE TWO MAJOR CATEGORIES INTO WHICH THE DATA WOULD BE DIVIDED. THE WEST'S QUESTIONS ON ALLOCATION WERE INTENDED FOR THE SAME PURPOSES AS ORIGINALLY, TO LOCATE THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DISPARITY WITHIN THE FORCES OF A GIVEN EASTERN PARTICIPANT. HERE TOO AN UNEVEN PATTERN AD EMERGED FROM THESE QUESTIONS.

12. TARASOV SAID WESTERN REPS HAD MADE REPEATED REFERENCES
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TO EASTERN STATEMENTS DURING THE EARLY PART OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH PURPORTED TO SUBSTANTIATE WESTERN CLAIMS OF THE EXISTENCE OF NUMERICAL SUPERIORITY OF THE WARSAW PACT. BUT IN FACT, WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATIVES HAD REPUDIATED THESE WESTERN ASSERTIONS FROM THE BEGINNING.

13. US REP ASKED WHY THE SOVIETS HAD TAKEN FIVE YEARS TO MAKE THEIR PROPOSAL OF JUNE 8, 1978 IF SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAD CONSIDERED AT THE OUTSET OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT THERE WAS NEAR PARITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA. SOVIET AUTHORITIES COULD HAVE DONE IN NOVEMBER 1973 WHAT THEY HAD DONE IN JUNE 1978 IN ACCEPTING EQUAL CEILINGS IF THEY BELIEVED THAT THERE WAS AN EQUAL NUMBER OF MANPOWER IN THE AREA. WHY HADN'T THEY ACTED THEN?

14. TARASOV REPLIED THIS WAS BECAUSE EASTERN AUTHORITIES HAD NOT WANTED TO EXCHANGE DATA UNTIL THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE AND HAD NOT BEEN SATISFIED THAT THERE WAS A SUFFICIENT DEGREE OF AGREEMENT ON ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE, SUCH AS WHETHER THERE WOULD BE FRG REDUCTIONS. MOREOVER, SINCE THIS WAS THE LAST MEETING BETWEEN TARASOV AND US REP, TARASOV WISHED TO MAKE ONE POINT IN CONFIDENCE WHICH HE HAD NOT MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY. SOVIET REP KHLESTOV HAD NOT KNOWN THE ACTUAL STRENGTH OF WARSAW TREATY FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA UNTIL SHORTLY BEFORE THE EASTERN DATA WAS TABLED IN JUNE 1976. CONSEQUENTLY, KHLESTOV HAD BEEN OBLIGED PRIOR TO THAT TIME TO DEVISE THE BEST ARGUMENTS HE COULD TO DEAL WITH WESTERN DATA CLAIMS.

15. US REP ASKED WAS IT THEN THE CASE THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION IN VIENNA DID NOT KNOW THE EASTERN FIGURES DURING MARCH 1976 WHEN IT HAD BEEN ARGUING FOR THE EXCLUSION OF CIVILIANS?

16. TARASOV SAID THIS WAS CORRECT. THE SOVIET DELEGATION IN VIENNA HAD NOT KNOWN THE EASTERN FIGURES UNTIL MAY 1976.
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US REP SAID THAT, EVEN IF THIS STATEMENT WAS TO BE CONSIDERED CORRECT, MOSCOW AUTHORITIES HAD BOTH KNOWN THE EASTERN FIGURE AND HAD INSTRUCTED THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO ARGUE FOR THE EXCLUSION OF A LARGE NUMBER OF EASTERN MILITARY PERSONNEL OF A SIZE OF 90,000 OR MORE ACCORDING TO SOME INFORMAL EASTERN STATEMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS SEEMED A PECULIAR WAY TO AIM FOR AGREEMENT.

17. TARASOV REPEATED HIS STATEMENTS. HE SAID WESTERN ESTIMATES ON WARSAW TREATY FORCES WERE BASED ON COLD WAR FIGURE. US REP SAID, TO THE CONTRARY, WESTERN FIGURES WERE BASED ON RECENT INFORMATION, AND HAD BEEN UPDATED JUST PRIOR TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE HAD HIMSELF HAD REPEATEDLY CHECKED THE FIGURES AND SUBJECTED THEM TO QUESTIONING AND AS A CONSEQUENCE BELIEVED IN THEIR ACCURACY. RESOR

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENTS, INFORMATION EXCHANGE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, FORCE & TROOP LEVELS, REGIONAL DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MBFRV00363
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780262-0562
Format: TEL
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780626/aaaaawgv.tel
Line Count: 295
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 0080a182-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2228406
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: US/SOVIET BILATERAL CONVERSATION OF JUNE 22, 1978
TAGS: PARM, US, UR, NATO, MBFR, (TARASOV)
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0080a182-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014